

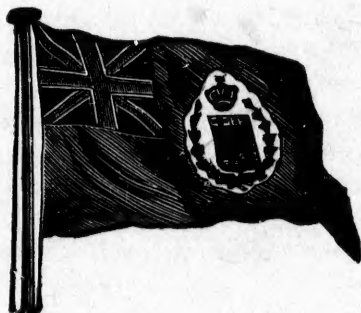
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ONTARIO ELECTIONS 1894

A BRIEF REVIEW OF

SIR OLIVER MOWAT'S GOVERNMENT.



THE
RECORD AND PLATFORM
OF THE

Conservative Opposition.

ONTARIO ELECTIONS 1884

THE ELECTION

SIR OLIVER HOWARD

CONSERVATIVE



1884

Conservative Opposition

TWENTY YEARS OF REFORM ADMINISTRATION IN ONTARIO.

In a short time the electors of Ontario will be called upon to exercise their franchise and indicate through the ballot boxes whether the present governing party in the Legislative Assembly shall be entrusted with power for another four years, or a change shall be effected whereby the Opposition, led by Mr. Wm. R. Meredith, shall assume the responsibility of governing the Province through the incoming legislature.

It is well that the memories of the people should be refreshed in reference to some of the more important acts of the government of Mr. Mowat during the past twenty years, and also to compare the methods of legislation and the expressed views of Reform leaders of former legislatures with the acts and legislation of the so-called Reform leaders and legislature of the present day. It is not intended to give a detailed review of the legislation of the past twenty years, nor to conduct an exhaustive enquiry into the doings of Mr. Mowat's party during all that time, but to present some facts drawn from official and other authentic sources that may awaken the electors to the true condition of affairs in the Province. The record of the Mowat government has been one of broken promises, violated principles, grasping propensities, centralization of power, reckless and wasteful mismanagement of public monies, and venal legislation, which should arouse those who prefer good government and a careful administration of the affairs of the Province to the mere triumph of party and office-holding partisans.

Owing to a lavish patronage, a reckless expenditure of public monies, the exercise of galling tyranny over a large number of men engaged in business that must receive the seal of sanction from the Provincial government, and, not among the least of many advantages, the benefit of a flagrant and iniquitous distribution of the electorate, the government of Sir Oliver

Mowat has been enabled to keep itself in power for the past twenty years.

A careful perusal of the following pages will show how the public expenditures have increased far beyond the increase in the ordinary receipts, and how the natural and limited resources of the Province have been unduly treasured upon to keep up the waste.

It is a matter for the most serious consideration whether this will be allowed to go on for another decade or two and the Province be brought to the door of direct taxation, or that an economical government, such as the first administration of Ontario after Confederation, be again installed in office by the votes of the people.

Another matter for serious thought on the part of the great free-governing and liberty-loving citizens of this Province of Ontario is the centralizing methods of the oligarchy that now rules at Toronto. In the past twenty years our local government, instead of broadening down and extending the self-governing tendencies of the people, has been narrowing up and limiting their powers until almost every appointment to office or position of any kind that once was the gift of the municipal councils or local officers, is now centred in the government at Toronto, and made subject to the approval of a party head or leader.

It will thus be seen that in election times the government has an army (thousands strong and well generalled and equipped) of license inspectors and commissioners, bailiffs, division court clerks, gaolers, registrars, police magistrates, crown land agents, fire and wood rangers, etc., etc., to assist in keeping it in power, no matter how strong may be the desire of an honest electorate to get rid of it.

The old Family Compact of by-gone days has been succeeded by a new Family Compact quite as oligarchical in its nature and fully as tyrannical in its functions, and hundreds who have felt its withering breath and unfortunately come within the reach of its grasping tentacles, have many and lasting reasons to wish for a change. This Compact is crushing the life blood out

of the people of Ontario, by stripping them of the power to deal with their own local affairs, and robbing them of their hard earnings through sources of useless officials thrust into fat offices created for no other purpose than to provide for troublesome friends at the country's expense. Scores of such officials are to be found all over the Province, and every session of the legislature sees more offices created and new men pensioned on the public, all in the name of good Reform government.

It is high time that the people of Ontario became aware of the deception that is practised upon them by a wasteful administration, a combination of practical politicians who have no opinions in common except those of plunder and enjoying the sweets of office, a government that has filled the land with office-holders, that has failed to develop the vast resources of the Province, and to aid in bringing to the best agricultural and dairying section of America, hosts of industrial farmers, who in other lands are seeking such homes as Ontario can offer them. For twenty years this government has posed under the guise of Reform, yet nearly every real reform measure that passed the legislature during that period was introduced or suggested by Mr. Meredith or one of his followers of the Opposition, while many measures in the direction of justice and reform that have been introduced by members of the Opposition, and which would meet with the hearty approval of every honest elector, have been persistently refused by Mr. Mowat and voted down by his followers in the House.

The Opposition appeals to the Province on the ground that during all these twenty years it has striven to preserve the liberties of the people and the rights of self-government by our municipal and other local organizations; to guard the treasury and the public domain; to secure justice and equal rights to all classes and every citizen against the machinations of those who, having deadened suspicion by professions of purity and liberality, have legislated chiefly in the interests of their supporters and friends, have wasted the resources of the Province and spent the accumulation of their predecessors with a reckless hand.

CENTRALIZING.

For many years past one chief aim of Sir Oliver Mowat's government has been to centralize all power and authority at Toronto.

One after another the rights and privileges formerly enjoyed by the people and exercised through municipal bodies have been taken away from them and merged into some department of the government. Many officials were once chosen by local authorities and were not the creatures of any political party, nor, as not a few of them are at present, the minions and election agents of the government at Toronto. In not a few instances have whole electoral districts been demoralized through the corruption practised in making these appointments and close constituencies carried for the Reform party through the influence thus exercised by the government frequently in direct opposition to the will of the independent and honest electorate of the district. So long has the Reform oligarchy at Toronto been allowed to trample upon the necks of the patient electors of Ontario and pose as reformers and purists that the leaders have grown contemptuous of the people and have assumed that the Province is all their own and for their especial benefit and that of their party favorites and friends. Electors in every district of the Province can look about them and find proofs of these assertions in the number of government appointees who are regularly drawing good pay from the public chest, and who are busy as bees in summer when an election is on, doing political service for the party. Before the administration of Mr. Mowat no such army of heelers and parasites was known in Ontario. There was no employment for such a staff, because the government was carried on in the interests of the people and economy prevailed in every department. Under the centralizing influences of so-called Reform all these agencies are necessary to maintain the party in power and keep the people in proper subjection to the autocrats who rule.

THE GOVERNMENT APPOINTS AND THE PEOPLE PAY.

But a still further objectionable feature of this system of making appointments by the government is that the localities are compelled to pay the salaries of these officials in whole or in part without the people having anything to say in the selection of the officer for the position. The power to appoint should carry with it the power to pay, and if the official be required in the service of the government, the government should pay his salary. In this way the cost to the Province of all these pensioners and useless office-holders would be known to the people, whereas at present it is next to impossible to find out the salaries and fees and emoluments of one kind and another drawn by them.

Should the Mowat government be continued in office, the people may prepare to see themselves still further shorn of power in the choice and appointment of municipal and other officials, such as county clerks, county treasurers, county constables, county auditors, and to find the management and control of certain local institutions taken completely out of their hands.

REDISTRIBUTION AND INCREASE IN REPRESENTATIVES.

No sooner had the government of Sir Oliver Mowat got safely seated than it began to look about for means to entrench itself, and without any precedent or justification, without even consulting the people, a scheme was prepared to increase the number of members from eighty-two, as fixed by the Confederation Act, to eighty-eight. In order to accomplish this, the original boundaries of several electoral districts were changed, and the manipulation was carried out to serve the basest of party purposes. Mr. Meredith, then (1875) as now a member of the

House, moved a resolution condemning the increase, but was voted down by the whole strength of the Mowat party.

Following is the resolution moved on the 18th Dec., 1875, by Mr. Meredith:—

“That it is inexpedient that the number of members constituting the Legislative Assembly should be subject to frequent or capricious changes; that the number thereof was fixed by the Confederation Act at eighty-two and the same is amply sufficient for the efficient carrying on of the legislation appertaining to the said Assembly; that no good reason for the proposed increase has been shown to exist and that the bill be re-committed to a committee of the whole House with instruction to amend the same by striking out the words ‘eighty-eight’ in the first section and substituting therefor ‘eighty-two.’”

Every one of the forty-four Reform members of the House voted against the resolution.

Not content with the increase of six additional members in 1875, Mr. Mowat has since increased the representation to ninety-one by adding two more through another iniquitous gerrymander in 1885, and one in 1889 for the district of Nipissing. That Nipissing and Algoma were entitled to representation is not questioned, but that any increase in the whole number of members is wholly denied. No public inconvenience or difficulty has ever been experienced, nor had there been any detriment suffered by reason of there being but eighty-two members in the House. There was no agitation at any time or place for the increase, but, on the contrary, public opinion was, and now is, averse to increased representation in the Provincial Assembly, it being almost universally held throughout the Province that a decrease in the number of members would materially improve the legislation of the House, lessen the cost of the sessions, and in all respects be adequate to the legislative requirements of the Province.

In the recent session of 1894, the number of members has been still further increased to ninety-four, *i.e.*, twelve more than the entire number in the first legislature of the Province.

MR. MOWAT'S GERRYMANDER.

A more scandalous abuse of power has never been shown in Canada than that of the gerrymander by Mr. Mowat in 1885. No respect was paid to township or even village boundaries or limits. Representation by population was wholly ignored. There appears to have been but one end in view, and that was to so arrange the electoral districts that the Reform party should have a majority of members in the House no matter which party polled the majority of votes in the Province.

THE MINORITY SCHEME IN TORONTO.

An unjust and wholly indefensible scheme was worked in Toronto to stifle the voice of the people of the Queen City. A minority candidate was declared entitled to a seat by this infamous Ac., and the voting power of the city, on a division in the House, was reduced to one, whereas if the city had been treated as all other ridings of the Province, its vote would, beyond a doubt, have been three against Mr. Mowat on every division on party lines. This vile scheme was ignominiously abandoned by the government in the session of 1893, after having met with condemnation all over the Province. As a proof of the unfairness and cowardliness of the readjustment measure of 1885, let it be observed that the government have a majority of full twenty members in the legislature, while out of the whole vote cast throughout the whole Province, the government party did not have as much of a majority as would elect two members in two separate constituencies. Taking the unit of representation at 21,366 as laid down by the Reform leader in Ontario (see page 15, "The Record of the Mowat Government"), and so acted upon in the redistribution of 1885, out of the ninety-one seats in the Province, forty-eight have less than the required population and but forty-three (counting Toronto as three) have the required number and over. Then to reveal the unfairness and dishonesty of the Act it is only necessary to point out that Mr. Mowat holds thirty-two seats of the forty-eight where the population is less than the required unit, while the friends of Mr. Meredith hold but sixteen of these seats.

In not a few of the seats held by the government the population is almost one-third less than the unit, showing that they have been thus formed to make safe pocket boroughs for Ministers of the Crown and favorite supporters of the government. In the other forty-three districts, where the average population is but slightly over the exact unit of representation, by a dishonest division of counties and grouping of townships the government again secures a majority of the representatives. Every effort on the part of the electors in many of the ridings of the Province to secure justice and fair play is thwarted before hand by this unscrupulous and fraudulent Act of the Mowat Ministry, which should meet the disapproval and condemnation of every honest citizen of the Province. The Opposition has been weakened by dishonest and disreputable tactics called legislation, by acts that will ever be looked upon as a disgrace to the Assembly that forced them upon the statute books, and ineffaceable stains upon the escutcheon of the party that enacted them. If such offences are condoned by the electors after they have been exposed, how long will it be ere the chains of tyranny and despotism are fastened too securely upon the electors of the Province to permit of a free choice being made of our constitutional rulers, for how can the voice of the majority be heard or its will become law when the electorate is muzzled and manacled beforehand by those who were entrusted to watch over the people's interests and see that even-handed justice is meted out to all?

\$70,000 WASTED ON EXTRA REPRESENTATION.

The principle embodied in Mr. Meredith's motion was in favor of economy and a fair representation of all parts of Ontario. Had it been accepted by the legislature of that day and observed since, it would have saved the Province fully \$70,000 in sessional allowances and mileage paid to the extra members alone, but Mr. Mowat and his party followers rejected Mr. Meredith's honest proposal, in order that their arms should be strengthened and their hands upheld by unfair and dishonest representation in the House and at the country's expense.

THE LIQUOR LICENSE ADMINISTRATION.

No actions of the government are more open to censure than those relating to the administration of the liquor license law. In every district of the Province the working of the License Act has been a lever in the hands of the friends of the government to assist in keeping the party in power. It has been used most corruptly and most tyrannically to oppress and coerce men engaged in the liquor business, and not to the end that temperance should be promoted and the law enforced, but that the candidates of the Mowat party should be elected. Inspectors and commissioners are chosen from the ranks of the Grit party alone, in direct violation of the pledge given by Mr. Mowat when the Act was introduced in 1876, and no more active election agents and canvassers are to be found during a campaign than these very inspectors and commissioners. In many parts of the Province a regular traffic in licenses has been carried on through the agency of inspectors and commissioners, and in scores of instances respectable men have been forced out of the business and their houses closed until a man of the right political stripe was put into possession of the place, when the license was re-granted.

THE OPINION OF AN HONEST MAN.

A prominent Reformer, and prohibitionist, speaking at a public meeting of advanced prohibitionists, held in Owen Sound in September, 1893, said, respecting the administration of the License Act: "The men who compiled the License law might have been actuated by good motives, but twenty years' experience with the law had shown that so far from promoting sobriety, it had actually developed the business, not only as a business speculation, but as a political force. The law was

"very badly administered. Whenever there was a strong pro-liquor sentiment, the law was not enforced, because a strict enforcement would drive their supporters out of the party and defeat that party at the elections. A loose and scandalous enforcement was therefore unavoidable."

That the Mowat government has prostituted the License Act for the basest purposes, few will deny; that they have used it to maintain themselves in power is beyond a doubt; and that temperance men and liquor men have been used as the party slaves and hirelings of a double-dealing administration, pretending at one time to favor prohibition and so enforce a proper respect for the law and at another time playing into the hands of liquor men and licensees to secure their money, their influence and their votes, is plain to any person who watches carefully the movements of the government and its license officials.

Besides using the Act for party purposes, it has also made the granting of licenses a medium for securing campaign funds and filling the depleted coffers of the treasury at the expense of the municipalities.

Prior to the passing of the Crooks Act, and the taking away from municipalities of the power to license the sale of liquors, and for several years afterwards, all, or nearly all, the monies derived from licenses went into the municipal treasury and was spent among the people in road making, street repairs, etc., etc. In 1884 the government of Mr. Mowat imposed a special Provincial tax and took a large share of the funds thus obtained, leaving the municipal authorities the balance. But as money grew scarce in the Provincial treasury, the government determined to take a larger share from the municipalities, and in 1886 an Act was passed imposing a larger Provincial fee on every license granted, thus compelling the local councils to impose a much larger fee for licenses (which in most instances would have been found exceedingly harsh and unfair), or to accept as the share of the municipality a much smaller sum than heretofore for each license granted. As a proof of how this new measure has worked, the following figures taken from a return brought down by the Provincial Secretary on 12th April, 1893, show how

the government has profited and the municipalities have lost by the Act passed :—

Year.	No. of Licenses.	Gross Amount Raised for Licenses.	Amounts Paid to Municipalities.	Amounts Paid to Ontario Government.	Amounts Paid to License Inspectors and Commissioners and other expenses Under the Act.
1876-77	3938	\$439457 96	\$281243 58	\$79589 81	\$78624 57
1877-78	3691	375228 98	249166 55	77516 55	48545 88
1878-79	3729	363620 33	229902 52	75213 05	58504 76
1879-80	4049	413013 79	269647 28	87198 19	44168 32
1880-81	4073	408798 76	271574 69	89207 14	48016 93
1881-82	4163	423482 71	258945 54	91948 75	72588 52
1882-83	4196	433052 87	284379 79	93523 28	56149 80
1883-84	4233	443095 40	287246 31	93225 70	62623 39
1884-85	3997	538714 24	283589 80	192867 02	62257 42
1885-86	3167	450072 97	231433 91	165285 62	53353 44
1886-87	2000	401481 65	153716 59	216455 78	31309 28
1887-88	1886	392675 17	156979 89	201542 45	34152 83
1888-89	2485	470855 50	190297 79	232511 55	48076 16
1889-90	3609	680560 55	297353 45	307281 02	75926 08
1890-91	3578	680298 68	294968 26	308200 17	77130 5
1891-92	3455	665809 10	289487 41	300604 33	75517 31
1892-93	3413	664169 00	289996 00	297644 47	76529 00

This column does not appear in the Returns referred to, but is obtained by adding the fourth and fifth columns together and subtracting from the third column.

From the foregoing tables it will be seen that during the first eight-year period under the Crooks Act, 1876 to 1883, inclusive, with government commissioners and inspectors, the municipalities received \$2,132,106.18 and the government \$685,422.47, but during the last eight years, up to and including 1892, the municipalities received only \$1,897,827.10, while the government took \$1,924,747.99, *i.e.*, the municipalities got \$234,279.08 less than the first eight-year period and the government \$1,239,325.52 more.

In the first eight years, 1876 to 1883, the municipalities received 65 per cent. of the entire amount collected, and the government and its officials under the Act, 35 per cent. In the last eight years, 1884 to 1892, the municipalities received only 44 per cent., while the government and its officials took 56 per cent.

During the first eight years 32,072 licenses were issued, the cost for commissioners, inspectors, and working the Act being \$468,222.17. In the second eight years 24,177 licenses were issued and the cost for commissioners, inspectors and working the Act was \$457,722.77.

The number of licenses issued decreased over 24 per cent. in the second eight years, while the cost of commissioners, inspectors and working the Act decreased only 2 per cent.

It will be observed that the increased amounts taken by the Mowat government are out of all proportion to the increase received by the municipalities. The government's share of the whole amount collected in 1876 was 18 per cent., while the municipalities got 64 per cent. In 1892 the government took over 45 per cent., while the municipalities got only 44 per cent., the remaining 11 per cent. going to pay the salaries and expenses of the inspectors and commissioners. The license fund is a revenue that properly belongs to the municipalities and should be left in the hands of the local councils to spend on public improvements in the several localities, but as long as the Mowat government remains in power, so long will the grabbing process go on and the people be robbed of that which for many years was, and should now be, regarded as their own, and which helped to lighten the taxes paid to keep up the municipal institutions and provide for local improvements. If municipal councils all over the Province were allowed to retain the liquor license funds which justly belong to them, and spend the same on roads throughout the township and on streets in the towns, how greatly would the people be benefited, and what vast improvements would be shown in this line. As it is now, a large part of the monies thus taken by the government goes to pay partisan inspectors, whose services in many cases are utterly useless except during election times and then only to coerce voters and work for the success of the government candidate.

THE POLICY OF THE OPPOSITION.

The policy of the Opposition was clearly set forth in resolutions moved in the legislature prior to the general elections in

1890. It is that the government of the day should enact good and wholesome laws respecting the licensing and sale of intoxicating liquors and for the regulation of the business of all engaged therein, but that the issuing of licenses should be entirely in the hands of the local authorities; in counties, the license commissioners to be appointed by the councils; in towns separated from counties, and in cities, the commissioners to be elected by vote of the people. It is the well understood policy of the Opposition not to relax or impair other provisions of the present law, and particularly that limiting the number of licenses to be granted, but to keep fully abreast with the progressive, moral sentiment of the times and to see that the law is fairly administered to all.

EXTRAVAGANT AND RECKLESS EXPENDITURE.

In 1869, while visiting among friends in the eastern part of Ontario, the late Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, first Premier of the Province, was charged by a local politician with being stingy and parsimonious in public affairs. His reply is worthy of reproduction here: "I admit that I am stingy. I deal with "public money as though I were dealing with my own personal "funds. I am quite convinced—I took this ground during the "Confederation debates—that an excessive or extravagant "expenditure would, in the long run, lead the people to complain of the cost of local government, and the next step would "be towards a change in our present government system. So "long as I have the honor to be a member of the Ontario "government, I shall continue to be stingy, for economy, *the "strictest and most careful economy, is the sheet-anchor of the "Federal Constitution."*

Sandfield Macdonald guarded the public treasury jealously; indeed, his economy cost him the premiership of the Province. No sooner was he displaced by a most unfair attack upon his administration and a vile intrigue with weak-kneed friends, than a new order of things was established and a career of reckless waste began, which has continued during the whole period of Mr. Mowat's administration. The vast resources of the Province alone have prevented thus far the financial disaster that Sandfield Macdonald foresaw from a course of extravagant government, and which many fear will not much longer be averted, unless a change of leaders takes place at Toronto. In a summary such as this we cannot enter into many details of revenue and expenditure to show how reckless and wasteful has been the course of the Mowat government during the past twenty years, but we will present a few facts on this line that may serve to awaken a lively interest among the people and expose the falsity of the Mowat ministry in claiming to have a cash surplus of several millions, a Province free of debt, and to carry on an economical administration of public affairs.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES.

The following statements of receipts and expenditures of the Province, which are taken from the official and authorized report of the speech of the Hon. Mr. Harcourt, Provincial treasurer, as delivered in the House on the 11th April, 1893, show that since the beginning of 1872, the first year of the Mowat administration, up to the close of 1892, the gross expenditures have exceeded the gross receipts by \$2,993,159.57, or an average of \$142,531 per year.

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.	Excess of Receipts over Expenditures.	Excess of Expendi- tures over Receipts.
1872	\$3,060,747 97	\$2,217,555 07	\$843,192 90	
1873	2,961,515 31	2,940,803 45	20,711 86	
1874	3,446,347 93	3,870,704 14		\$424,356 21
1875	3,156,605 81	3,604,524 42		447,918 61
1876	2,589,222 83	3,139,505 66		550,281 83
1877	2,502,566 04	3,119,117 73		616,551 69
1878	2,285,178 07	2,902,388 37		617,210 30
1879	2,287,951 39	2,941,714 27		653,762 88
1880	2,584,169 76	2,518,186 80	65,982 96	
1881	2,788,746 78	2,579,802 28	208,944 50	
1882	2,880,450 40	2,918,826 95		38,376 55
1883	2,439,941 42	2,887,037 73		447,096 31
1884	2,820,555 45	3,207,889 67		387,334 22
1885	3,005,920 71	3,040,139 07		34,218 36
1886	3,148,660 01	3,181,449 69		32,789 68
1887	3,527,577 95	3,454,372 43	73,205 52	
1888	3,603,262 14	3,545,234 85	58,027 29	
1889	3,538,405 08	3,653,356 37		114,951 29
1890	3,423,154 99	3,896,324 38		473,169 39
1891	4,138,589 09	4,158,459 55		19,870 46
1892	4,662,921 57	4,068,257 39	594,664 18	
	64,852,490 70	67,845,650 27	1,864,729 21	4,857,867 78

In 1893 the receipts are shown to be \$6,330,285, and the expenditures \$3,907,145, showing a surplus of receipts over expenditures of \$2,422,140. This is a misleading statement since \$1,973,123 was withdrawn from special deposits, and \$200,000 from

Dominion bonds (see page 3, Public Accounts, 1893), which leaves the actual amount of receipts over expenditures at only \$250,017.

In only eight of the twenty-two years of the Mowat administration have the receipts exceeded the expenditures, while in fourteen years of the twenty-two, the expenditures have exceeded the receipts by nearly five millions of dollars, eating up Sandfield Macdonald's cash savings of over three millions, and also the proceeds of thousands of square miles of our valuable timber lands sold at pleasure of the government to replenish the depleted treasury of the Province. In 1892 the expenditures would have exceeded the receipts by over half a million dollars had the government not again raided the timber resources of the Province and sold 637 square miles of territory for \$2,315,000, over half of which amount was paid in cash by the purchasers and applied at once by the Provincial treasurer to fill the empty treasury and cover the deficit caused by reckless and wasteful administration in the various departments.

Since the advent to power of the Mowat administration in 1872, there have been seven sales of timber berths, viz.: October, 1872; June, 1877; December, 1881; October, 1885; December, 1887; October, 1890, and October, 1892. These sales of our timber wealth provided the surpluses shown in 1872, 1881, 1887 and 1892 of the foregoing table, leaving only three years of the whole period of twenty-two under the Mowat government in which the treasurer was able to meet the expenditures of the Province by the ordinary receipts. After each general election in the Province since 1871, the government has sold large portions of the timber territory without consulting on any occasion the representatives of the people. They have arrogated to themselves the right to thus dispose of the capital of the Province *ad libitum*, not allowing the legislature any voice in the matter. Thousands of square miles of the best timber limits in Ontario have been needlessly sacrificed during the past twenty-one years, and much of the money obtained as proceeds of these sales has been squandered on needless commissions, useless officials and hangers-on, and wasteful management in various departments of

the public service and public institutions of the Province. How long shall such mal-administration of public affairs be permitted to last is a serious question for the electors of Ontario. The best timber limits have been sold and the proceeds spent ; many of the finest mining claims have been disposed of and placed beyond the possibility of the government getting any direct returns from their working ; the maximum of liquor license revenues has been reached—in fact, it is more than likely that the revenue from this source will fall off largely from year to year, until it will have disappeared altogether ; interest on the investments of the Province has fallen away gradually year by year as the capital has been eaten up since 1873, when the sum received from this source was \$256,914 to 1892, when the sum received from this source was only \$36,739.

RAILWAY AID CERTIFICATES AND ANNUITY BONDS.

Worse than all this is the startling fact that the government of Ontario has mortgaged the Province for forty years to pay Railway Aid Certificates and Annuity Bonds to the amount of \$3,976,998.32, the last payment falling due in the year 1932. The Provincial treasurer, in a statement from the auditor's office, bearing date February 16th, 1893, admits the present value of these Railway Certificates and Annuities, bearing interest at 2 1-8 per cent. half yearly, to be \$2,338,108.40, so that when interest is fully paid up in 1932, it will have taken nearly \$4,000,000 out of the Provincial treasury. And still the government continues to borrow and further mortgage the credit of the Province, for in November, 1893, the Provincial treasurer sold \$53,963 worth of government annuities of \$699.40 each, payable half-yearly for forty years.

EXPENDITURES COMPARED.

The total expenditure during the last year of the administration of John Sandfield Macdonald was

\$1,816,866.78.

The total expenditure of the Mowat government during the year 1892 was

\$4,068,951.68,

an increase in 20 years of 124 per cent, and for 1893

\$3,907,145.00.

The Executive Council and Attorney General's office, which in 1872 cost.....

\$10,770 00

In 1893 cost - - - - **20,259 00**

Civil Government in 1872 cost.....

142,218 00

In 1893 cost - - - - **241,621 00**

Legislation in 1872 cost.....

99,559 00

In 1893 cost - - - - **138,924 00**

Administration of Justice in 1872 cost.....

191,647 00

In 1893 cost - - - - **380,652 00**

Public Institutions maintenances in 1872 cost

210,681 00

In 1893 cost - - - - **778,839 00**

Hospitals and Charities in 1872 cost.....

42,100 00

In 1893 cost - - - - **164,896 00**

Members' Indemnity in 1872 cost.....	\$33,842 00
In 1893 cost	56,102 40

Sessional Writers in 1872 cost	5,197 00
In 1893 cost -	15,579 00

(Including messengers and pages)

Crown Lands Department in 1872 cost...	32,563 00
Crown Lands & Bureau of Mines in 1893 cost...	56,540 00

Public Works Department in 1872 cost...	15,079 00
In 1893 cost	18,045 00

Colonization Roads in 1872 cost.....	75,759 00
In 1893 cost	112,166 00

Three Inspectors under Factory Act, salaries and expenditures for 1892.....	\$ 4,227 00
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Mining Commission in 1890-92.....	3,333 00
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Dehorning Commission.....	2,770 50
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Fish and Game Commission.....	9,063 69
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Drainage Commission 1891-92.....	7,037 00
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“ “ 1893.....	4,785 00
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Election expenses (Dr. Ryerson's election in Toronto, under Minority Representa- tion Scheme, 1893).....	5,324 53
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Rubber stamps for various offices during 1892.....	241 58
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Wood Rangers and Crown Timber Inspectors, salaries and expenses 1893.....	\$26,978 59
Crown Land Agents and Inspectors of Fisheries, etc., etc., salaries and expenses, 1893.....	23,278.92
Surveys of townships, timber berths, boundary lines and maps in connection therewith, 1893	39,357.80
Superannuations, Gratuities and Pensions, 1892	15,745 00

CROWN LANDS DEPARTMENT.

Considering the enormous annual cost of the Crown Lands department, the benefits received by the Province have been very small during the past ten years at least. Had the government not been forced to make periodical raids upon the timber wealth of the northern and north-western parts of Ontario, and by this means replenish the depleted treasury from time to time, little, indeed, would have been done toward opening up and settling the fine lands of Algoma and Nipissing. In respect to these districts, the policy of the government has been one of stagnation and oppression. Hundreds of settlers who went into Algoma in years past have been driven out and compelled to seek homes elsewhere because of the illiberal, greedy and blundering policy of Mr. Mowat's government. So strong is the feeling against the government at Toronto, that at present all through the districts of East and West Algoma many prominent men have openly advocated the secession of the north-western part of Ontario from the rest of the Province, and the setting up a new Province with a capital and government at Sault Ste. Marie or Port Arthur. Owing to the illiberal timber policy of the Ontario government, disputes between crown timber agents, timber licensees, and the settlers on farming lands are of frequent occurrence. Farmers seeking homes in our unsettled western country cannot be induced to remain long in a place where they are obliged to pay timber dues to the government upon every stick of pulpwood, cedar, spruce, etc., that they sell to get a little ready money to help them in their pioneer days. The Conservatives of the legislature have made repeated efforts to have these abuses remedied, but on every occasion they have been outvoted by the government and its following in the House. On the 3rd April, 1890, the following

resolution was moved by Mr. Marter and seconded by Mr. Hudson:—"That whenever the quantity of pine timber growing on any located lot is less than fifty thousand feet (50,000), such lot shall be withdrawn from license, and the locatee shall, on obtaining his patent, be entitled to such timber, under such regulations as may be passed for the purpose of securing as far as practicable, the same being retained as a timber reserve for local use." This motion was voted down by Mr. Mowat and his followers. A grosser act of injustice was never committed by any government against the settlers in a new district, and this with other acts of a similar character has driven many from Algoma and made discontent in every township where lumbermen are found operating.

The Opposition in the legislature has also tried to lessen the time in which a settler is obliged to remain on his land before he can receive his patent from five to three years, but in this also they were defeated by the government. (See votes and proceedings of legislature, April 3rd, 1890.)

As a proof of the failure of the government's policy in settling the Province, let the following facts be noted: From 1875 to 1883 the expenditure in connection with the Crown Lands department was nearly \$900,000, and during that period 5,863 persons are reported as having settled in Ontario in free grant localities. From 1884 to 1892 the expenditure in connection with the Crown Lands department was over \$1,000,000, while the number of settlers was only 2,838, *i.e.*, in 1891, when the expenditure was fifty per cent. more, the settlers were one hundred per cent. less in number. How is that for a liberal policy and a pretended progressive government?

In 1892 there were issued to settlers 352 patents for Crown Lands, while during the same year no less than 396 lots, the locations of former years, were cancelled, the number of cancellations being actually more than the number of patents issued, all owing to the narrow, greedy and parsimonious policy of the autocrats who rule at Toronto. During 1893 there were 322

patents issued to locatees or settlers and 356 lots, the locations of former years, cancelled for non-performance of settlement duties.

(See Crown Lands Commissioner's Report, 1892-93),

The large expenditures of the Crown Land department are alarming. There are thirty-four clerks in the various offices at Toronto, drawing annually \$39,960 in salaries, besides the commissioner himself and an assistant commissioner, the latter receiving a salary of \$2,800.

In 1892 the twenty-eight Crown Land agents of the Province sold or leased 47,691 acres, and for their services were paid \$10,293. Six crown timber agents drew \$8,100 in salaries and \$2,510 for expenses, disbursements, etc. During 1891-92-93 eight agents for the sale of lands sold lands to the value of \$8,501.35, and drew in the way of salaries for their services \$9,750. Here is the record as revealed in the reports of these years:—

R. McPherson, 4 sales, 373½ acres; value, \$271.95; salary paid, \$1,500.

J. D. Cockburn, 50 sales, 6,707½ acres; value, \$3,353.75; salary paid, \$1,500.

T. J. Ryan, 17 sales, 3,626¼ acres; value, \$1,549.87; salary paid, \$1,500.

D. J. McDonald, 45 sales, 8,580⅓ acres; value, \$1,948.22; salary paid, \$1,500.

W. L. Nichols, 22 sales, 3,430¼ acres; value, \$687.56; salary paid, \$1,500.

J. F. Ruttan, 7 sales, 761 acres; value, \$530.00; salary paid, \$1,050.

C. P. Brown ('90-91), salary paid, \$1,000.

Wm. Turner ('92), salary paid, \$200.

The following are instances of the work done and pay received by agents for locating settlers in the free grant districts of the Province (see pages 20-22 Crown Land Commissioner's Report, 1893):—

		Salary.
A. W. Wood, Plevna, 4 settlers located	- - -	\$200
W. Turner, Sault Ste. Marie, 6 settlers located	-	200
Geo. Hamilton, St. Joseph's Island, 10 settlers	"	200
W. Wilson, Fort Francis, 8	" "	200
J. F. Ruttan, Port Arthur, 2	" "	250
W. Fielding, Minden, 14	" "	500
D. Anderson, Apsley, 15	" "	500
C. R. Stewart, Haliburton, 13	" "	500
W. L. Nichols, Thessalon, 2	" "	500

The total number of purchasers under the Free Grants and Homestead Act during 1893 was 52, and the whole number of settlers 446, while the cost to the Province for agents' salaries was \$7,850, an average of almost \$151 per settler.

Miscellaneous inspectors and other items amounted to \$1,397. Thirty-three wood rangers received \$27,084, and sundry fire rangers, \$31,976. The gross expenditure of the department for 1892 was \$274,206; that of 1891 was \$290,953, while that of 1890 (the year of the general elections) was \$310,328. Notwithstanding that there are now over 150 townships open to free grant settlers, many of which townships have not a single settlement, the reckless policy of carrying on surveys at large cost to the Province still continues, and in 1892 \$38,086 was paid for crown surveys in new townships. The army of hangers-on must be kept employed and some show of work must be made for the monies paid to these worse than useless officials. Since 1883 over 100 townships have been surveyed out at a cost of \$271,000, and in four-fifths of them scarcely a settlement can be found. Men cannot be induced to settle in a district where the land and timber regulations are so oppressive and cruel.

During the session of 1893 the Conservative Opposition endeavored to prevent a further outlay at present in this direction, and moved that the item of \$35,000 for surveys of townships in new districts be struck out of the appropriation for 1893. The motion was voted down by 48 to 29, every government follower in the House voting with the majority.

There are tens of thousands of fertile acres in Algoma, good land as men could desire to cultivate; the climate is conducive to health; the seasons are pleasant; markets for every kind of farm produce are plentiful and prices good; the eastern half of the district is nearly 1,000 miles nearer to the Atlantic sea-board and the great consuming centres of the world than the farm lands of Manitoba and the western prairies which are more rapidly settling up; there are excellent water-powers for manufacturing purposes; one of the finest railways in the world passes directly through the district, and during the season of navigation hundreds of passenger and freight steamers call at ports dotted all along the lake fronts of this vast region, and still the land seekers from the crowded east will not settle in Algoma. And why? Because it is run by a narrow, restrictive administration at Toronto, whose only object has been to draw all the money it can out of the resources of the district and spend as little as possible to develop it. Every part of Ontario suffers from this petty policy of picayune politicians, and will continue to suffer while such men are at the head of our Provincial affairs. The building of the C.P.R., between 1880 and 1886, gave an impetus to the settlement and development of the northern and north-western parts of our Province far ahead of anything ever done by the Provincial government, and, but for the stimulus then received, those vast and fertile districts would yet be in their primeval condition. The Mowat government has done much more to develop the liquor license political machine and the school-book monopoly plunder than it has ever done to open up and develop the resources of natural wealth in the Province, and another twenty years of such rule would leave us, as a Province, far behind other progressive states or countries of equal intelligence and advantages for material progress and prosperity.

HOW THE MONEY IS WASTED.

In the construction of bridges out of colonization funds, a very large proportion of the money expended goes to pay bosses and overseers, while the amounts paid for labor are correspondingly small.

The following figures taken from the official record show the amounts expended in several instances for overseers and labor respectively.

COMBERMERE BRIDGE.

Account of B. Wickett.

To amount of pay as overseer in charge of Combermere bridge from 11th February to 25th April, both days inclusive, 74 days at \$3.50 per day\$259 00

To amount of pay lists of working parties 565 52
(See Journals of 1891, page 103.)

COMMANDA CREEK BRIDGE.

Account of B. Wickett.

To amount of pay as overseer in charge of Commanda Creek bridge from 23rd March to 5th June, both days inclusive, 34 days at \$3.50 per day.....\$119 00

To amount of pay lists of working parties 123 84
(See Journals of 1891, page 97.)

EAST RIVER BRIDGE.

Account of B. Wickett.

To amount of pay as overseer in charge of East River bridge from 24th Oct. to 10th February, both days inclusive, 56 days at \$3.50 per day\$196 00

To amount of pay lists of working parties 183 79
(See Journals 1891, page 85.)

STEPHENSON TOWN LINE BRIDGE.

Account of B. Wickett.

- To amount of pay as overseer in charge of Stephenson Town Line bridge from June to 17th October, both days inclusive, 68 days at \$3.50 per day\$238 00
- To amount of pay lists of working parties..... 137 10
(See Journals 1891, page 91.)

DRAPER BRIDGE.

Account of Thos. Halliday, Overseer.

- To amount of pay as overseer in charge of re-building the Draper bridge from 4th August to 31st October, both days inclusive, 69 days at \$3.50 per day.\$241 50
- To amount of pay lists of working parties Nos. 1 to 3... 312 27
(See Journals 1891, page 169.)

TROUT CREEK BRIDGE.

Account of B. Wickett, Overseer.

- To amount of pay as overseer in charge of Trout Creek bridge from 23rd June to 26th October, both days inclusive, at \$3.50 per day—33 days actually engaged framing, constructing and overseeing; 5 days looking after timber and iron and taking measurements of Menzies' bridge.....\$133 00
- To amount of pay lists of working parties..... 69 82
(See Journals 1891, page 165.)

GURD BRIDGE.

Account of B. Wickett, Overseer.

- To amount of pay as overseer in charge of Gurd bridge repairs from 27th October to 2nd November, both days inclusive, 7 days at \$3.50 per day\$ 24 50
- To amount of pay lists of working parties..... 14 62
(See Journals 1891, page 161.)

MUSQUOSH BRIDGE—1893.

Account of B. Wickett, Overseer.

To amount of pay as overseer in charge of Musquosh
bridge from 3rd of July to 6th September, both days
inclusive, 49 days at \$3.50 per day.....\$171 50

To amount of pay lists of working parties, Nos. 1 to 3 92 93
(See Journals 1891, page 155.)

EXTRAVAGANCE vs. ECONOMY.

During the session of 1893 the Opposition by direct motions endeavored to save the Province FORTY-TWO THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE DOLLARS, \$7,275 of which was voted for salaries or increase of salaries to useless officials, and \$35,000 to be squandered for unnecessary surveys of new townships.

By opposing the government in the appointment of certain other salaried officials, wholly unnecessary in the public service, the Opposition endeavored to still further promote economy in the departments, but so ready were the followers of Mr. Mowat to do his bidding and accept the dictum of the government, that every move in this direction on the part of Mr. Meredith and his colleagues in the House was voted down.

SQUANDERING COLONIZATION ROAD MONEY.

During an investigation before the Public Accounts Committee in 1892, it was shown that one J. D. Simpson, a road and bridge builder and inspector in the service of the government, drew \$760 besides all expenses for 195 days' absence from his home in Sarnia, part of the time travelling around from one locality to another where roads and bridges were under construction. The gross amount paid Simpson was \$1,418.50,

and when a demand was made by the Opposition members of the committee that Simpson's expense account should be shown, it was alleged that the book or manuscript containing the same was at his home in Sarnia. Simpson was ordered to proceed thither and return with the same. He never returned, and to this day the expense account has not been forthcoming. This is one specimen of the reckless and corrupt management going on at the department.

PAYMENT OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS.

During 1892 an investigation took place before the Public Accounts Committee *re* the method adopted in paying certain officials in connection with some of the public institutions of the Province. As a case in point the pay of Dr. Clark, medical superintendent of Toronto Asylum, was taken up. That officer receives by way of salary \$2,000, but it actually costs the Province nearly three times that amount for his salary, table allowances, furnished house, gas, fuel, and other items of expenditure incurred by him. The Opposition objects to this covert plan of paying public officers and maintains that they should receive only fixed sums and no allowances or perquisites of any kind. In the session of 1892, after this investigation, a motion by Mr. Marter, seconded by Mr. Kerns, to give effect to the views of the Opposition in this matter was voted down, every follower of the government in the House (48 in number) voting against the motion. Mr. J. W. Langmuir, formerly inspector of asylums, was examined before the committee, and, in answer to the following question :

"Will you explain what difference it would make in the duties if officials were paid a salary covering everything necessary for living outside as now, what difference would that be over the present system?"

replied as follows:—

"I think you would have great difficulty to get the legislature to vote the requisite amount to cover these supplies and perquisites not included in the estimates. If you gave

"Dr. Clark \$4,000 instead of \$2,000, I doubt very much if you gentlemen with economical ideas would favor it. You would think he was getting more than he is entitled to."

It therefore appears that the government dare not ask the legislature to vote the amounts which are paid certain of its officials, because the members would demand greater economy in dealing with these public servants, and what the legislature would refuse to do openly the government does covertly, and thus fleeces the Province out of thousands of dollars every year. What do the people of Ontario think of such an honest, economical administration of its affairs?

The investigation before the same Public Accounts Committee showed that all supplies for the public institutions are not bought by tender, nor even at the lowest current prices, as any retail business man would do, but are bought from political friends of the government and at prices from ten to twenty-five per cent. higher than the current values of such articles. Considering the enormous amounts that are expended annually on supplies for the maintenance of the various public institutions of the Province which are not tendered for and the enhanced prices paid for them, it must be clear to every impartial observer that the annual loss to the Province is many thousands, all of which goes to enrich those who vote for and otherwise support the government of Sir Oliver Mowat.

The amount spent by the Government of Ontario on the maintenance of Public Institutions for the year 1893 was over A QUARTER OF A MILLION DOLLARS.

THE FEE SYSTEM.

This system applies to a large number of offices. Those in which the general public are most directly interested are the registrars, sheriffs and county attorneys. The registrars and sheriffs appoint deputies who in most cases do the work that the law requires from the government officials. The deputies and clerks employed to do the work are paid by the registrar, sheriff and county attorney. The deputies are paid from \$400 to \$1,000. Clerks get about a dollar per day. The offices are furnished by the county and with all necessary books.

As the law now stands, the registrar and other officials collect the fees allowed in the offices, pay the men who do the work the lowest possible sum and pocket the balance. From the returns of 1889 it was shown in the House in 1891 that the balance of the fees, after paying all expenses, deputies and clerks, in most of the offices amounted to very large salaries, which were received by the officials who did but little work.

For instance:

The Sheriff of Toronto	got per annum.....	\$8,805
" " York " "		4,877
" " Carleton " "		3,255
" " Leeds & Grenville		3,220
" " Simcoe	got per annum.....	3,202
" " Elgin " "		2,945

The same returns showed that registrars of deeds received even larger salaries and did little, and, in some instances, scarcely any work.

For instance:

Registrars of Toronto City (2) received per annum.....\$17,514

Registrars of Lambton County	"	"		\$5,758
" Simcoe	"	"		5,123
" Middlesex	"	"		4,932
" Huron	"	"		4,687
" Oxford	"	"		4,226

In 1891 the Opposition introduced the following resolution :

"That in the opinion of this House the system of paying Provincial officers by fees is objectionable in principle, and the law ought to be so amended as to provide for the remuneration of sheriffs, registrars of deeds, clerks of the peace and county attorneys by salaries, instead of by fees, and a like change should be made in the mode of remunerating all other Provincial officers now paid by fees, to whom the same could be satisfactorily applied."

This was voted down by the government and its followers, the Attorney-General declaring there was no need of change, and said further if there were inequalities he would introduce a bill to regulate them. In 1892 a bill was introduced which was to come into effect in 1893. It was not to do away, but to equalize by having percentage paid after the fees reached certain amounts, but it did not, to any appreciable extent, really affect the situation. Just fancy the remedy proposed by Mr. Mowat. After the salary by fees reached \$2,000, the official paid 10 per cent.—that is, if it reached \$3,000, he paid 10 per cent. on \$1,000, making \$100 to be paid the county. This was such a glaring failure of justice that this year, 1894, the Opposition introduced the following resolution—which is their policy to-day—and strikes at the root of this corrupt system :

Mr. Wood (Hastings) moved in amendment, seconded by Mr. Clancy :

"That in the opinion of this House the present mode of appointing and paying by fees, registrars of deeds and other county officials is unsatisfactory, and should be changed, and that the appointment of all the said officials whose salary or

"remuneration is provided, in whole or mainly, by the localities
 "for which they are appointed, should not be vested in the
 "Executive of the Province, but in the people of the locality,
 "either directly or through their municipal bodies."

Mr. Meredith's policy as set forth in the resolution *was*
voted down on the following division :

NAYS:

Messieurs

Allan,	Dryden,	McKechnie,
Awrey,	Evanturel,	Mack
Balfour,	Ferguson,	Mackenzie, C.,
Barr (Renfrew),	Field,	Moore,
Baxter,	Garrow,	Mowat,
Bishop,	Gibson (Hamilton),	O'Connor,
Bleazard,	Gibson (Huron),	Robillard,
Bronson,	Guthrie,	Ross,
Caldwell,	Harcourt,	Sharpe,
Carpenter,	Hardy,	Smith (Peel),
Charlton,	Harty,	Snider,
Clarke (Lanark),	Kirkwood,	Sprague,
Cleland,	Lockhart,	Stratton,
Conmee,	Loughrin,	Tait,
Dack,	McKay (Oxford),	Waters,
Davis,	McKay (Victoria),	Wood (Brant)—49.
Dowling,		

YEAS:

Messieurs

Bush,	Kerns,	Preston,
Campbell (Durham),	McCallum,	Reid,
Clancy	McCleary,	Rorke,
Clarke (Toronto),	McColl,	Ryerson,
Fell,	McNaughton,	Smith (Frontenac),
Glendinning,	Magwood,	Tooley,
Godwin,	Marter,	White,
Hammell,	Meacham,	Whitney,
Hiscott,	Meredith,	Willoughby—29.
Hudson,	Monk,	

Mr. Wood (Hastings) was paired with Hon. Mr. Fraser, making 50 to 30. This implies that the men who do the work should be paid salaries that are fair and just remunerations; that the receipts of office should be paid over to the counties or cities that appoint the officials, and the sums over these salaries go to the public benefit; and further, that the system that has been a means of corrupting public men by promises of appointment to these positions, should be done away with entirely. The government have introduced another bill, having become alarmed by the public feeling throughout the Province on this subject, to further regulate. This act of itself is their highest condemnation. Why did they refuse to make a change in 1891 and then pass in 1892 a *sham*? Why did they refuse to change the law in 1894 and then introduce another bill? The truth is simply this, they wanted to continue the system so as to use it for their friends and to influence 600 officials, paid by fees throughout the Province, to support the Mowat government!!

With all the changes in the law made by Mr. Mowat under pressure from the Opposition in the House and public sentiment expressed in the Province, many sheriffs, registrars of deeds, surrogate registrars and county court clerks continue to draw very large salaries, amounts out of all proportion to the hours engaged and the service rendered.

For instance:

CARLETON CO.—P. J. Coffey, registrar of deeds, net salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,674 77

1893— 2,345 48

DUFFERIN CO.—Wm. McMinn, registrar of deeds, net salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,254 45

1893— 2,089 48

ELGIN CO.—Jas. H. Coyne, registrar of deeds, net salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$3,653 44

1893— 3,094 56

ESSEX CO.—J. W. Askin, registrar of deeds, net salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$3,269 39

1893— 3,075 36

GREY CO.—Robert McKnight and Thos. Lauder, registrars of deeds, net salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$4,593 33

1893— 4,475 93

HASTINGS CO.—Henry W. Day, registrar of deeds, net salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,789 75

1893— 2,381 09

HURON CO.—James Dickson, registrar of deeds, net salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,187 40

1893— 2,194 78

KENT CO.—Peter D. McKellar, registrar of deeds, net salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,875 39

1893— 2,329 09

LAMBTON CO.—A. McLean, registrar of deeds, net salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,757 94

1893— 2,443 01

LINCOLN CO.—Jas. G. Currie, registrar of deeds, net salary
after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,789 24

1893— 2,716 32

LONDON CITY—Wm. L. C. Gill, registrar of deeds, net
salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,018 78

1893— 2,246 85

ONTARIO CO.—J. Ham Perry, registrar of deeds, net salary
after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,535 13

1893— 2,404 52

OTTAWA.—Alex. Burritt, registrar of deeds, net salary after
paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,530 39

1893— 2,872 60

OXFORD CO.—G. W. Pattullo, registrar of deeds, net salary
after paying all expenses,

1892—\$3,061 77

1893— 3,031 94

PETERBOROUGH CO.—Bernard Morrow, registrar of deeds,
net salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,625 75

1893— 2,506 69

SIMCOE CO.—Samuel Lount, registrar of deeds, net salary
after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,511 22

1893— 2,432 90

TORONTO EAST—P. Ryan, registrar of deeds, net salary
after paying all expenses,

1892—\$3,823 38

1893— 3,103 24

TORONTO WEST—Chas. Lindsay, registrar of deeds, net
salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$4,501 02

1893— 3,439 05

VICTORIA CO.—Chas. D. Barr, registrar of deeds, net salary
after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,361 54

1893— 2,125 26

WELLAND CO.—Jas. E. Morin, registrar of deeds, net salary
after paying all expenses,

1892—\$3,505 53

1893— 3,382 71

WELLINGTON N.—John Anderson, registrar of deeds, net
salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$1,892 15

1893— 2,127 25

WELLINGTON S. & C.—N. Higginbotham, registrar of deeds,
net salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$2,254 93

1893— 2,109 70

WENTWORTH CO.—Lewis Springer, registrar of deeds, net
salary after paying all expenses,

1892—\$3,447 29

1893— 3,436 73

SURROGATE REGISTRARS.

The following shows the net amounts received in 1891 by certain surrogate registrars, most of whom throughout the Province are also county court clerks, and in some instances also deputy clerks of the crown :—

Brant Co., W. B. Rubridge	\$2,124 62
Carleton Co., J. P. Featherstone.....	2,768 91
Elgin Co., D. McLaws	2,248 02
Grey Co., Geo. Inglis	2,260 60
Hastings Co., A. G. Northrup	2,402 07
Huron Co., D. McDonald	2,311 65
Leeds and Grenville, S. Reynolds.....	2,763 41
Middlesex Co., John Macbeth.....	3,574 65
Northumberland & Durham, John Fisher....	2,615 85
Oxford Co., Jas. Canfield	2,852 92
Perth Co., Jas. McFadden	2,337 94
Simcoe Co., J. McL. Stevenson.....	2,944 56
Wentworth Co., S. H. Ghent.....	3,472 12
York Co., J. G. Brown (surrogate registrar)	4,041 19
“ Hon. A. M. Ross (county court clerk)	4,124 55
“ T. H. Bull (clerk of peace)	2,369 46

The system is rotten to the core. The men who do the real work get little more than starvation wages, while the officials themselves draw large incomes and do but little, if any, work. If the present tariff of fees is to remain, who should get the surplus after fairly remunerating the men who do the work? There can be but one answer: the counties where the work is done.

The only remedy is a change of system.

The Mowat government refuses this! Meredith makes it a plank in his platform.

It is with the electors to decide which it shall be.

The salary system carried out by the county councils or people would mean to pay for work done. The present system is for a class who want the office for its emoluments and not for

honest work performed. Electors of Ontario, which system do you prefer?

If you believe in a government by the people and for the people, where men who do work get fairly paid, and you are opposed to the "Fee System," which, as administered, simply means gifts to family friends and party favorites of the Mowat government, the vote for Mr. Meredith.

A SECRET BALLOT.

Since the passing of the Ballot Act by the Provincial government, the Opposition has many times protested against that provision of the act whereby every ballot is numbered by the deputy returning officer on polling-day, thus rendering it possible to discover how any elector has voted. It is maintained by many, and not without good and sufficient reasons therefor, that the government of the day, through its friends, has taken advantage of this provision of the act to intimidate and coerce voters into voting for government candidates all over the Province and that the supposed secrecy of the ballot is destroyed and only a delusion and a fraud. To guard against this condition of affairs and guarantee any voter an undoubted secrecy as for whom he votes, the Opposition has, on more than one occasion, moved that the numbering of the ballots be dispensed with in all elections to the Legislative Assembly. On the 27th March, 1894, Mr. Whitney moved, seconded by Mr. Willoughby, "That "in opinion of this House, it is necessary to a free expression of "the popular will that the use of the numbered ballot paper "should be discontinued and the ballot for the election of members of the Legislative Assembly be made a secret ballot."

On the vote being taken the House divided as follows:—

YEAS:

Messieurs

Barr (Dufferin),	Hiscott,	Preston,
Bush,	Hudson,	Reid,
Campbell (Algoma),	Kerns,	Rorke,
Campbell (Durham),	McCleary,	Smith (Frontenac),
Clancy,	McColl,	Tooley,
Clarke (Toronto),	Magwood,	White,
Fell,	Marter,	Whitney,
Glendinning,	Meacham,	Willoughby,
Godwin,	Meredith,	Wood (Hastings),
Hammell,	Monk,	Wylie—30.

NAYS:

Messieurs

Allan,	Evanturel,	McMahon,
Awrey,	Ferguson,	McNaughton,
Balfour,	Field,	Mack,
Barr (Renfrew),	Garrow,	Mackenzie, C.,
Baxter,	Gibson (Hamilton),	Moore,
Biggar,	Gibson (Huron),	Mowat,
Bishop,	Gilmour,	Paton,
Blezard,	Guthrie,	Robillard,
Bronson,	Harcourt,	Ross,
Caldwell,	Hardy,	Sharpe,
Carpenter,	Harty,	Smith (Peel),
Charlton,	Kirkwood,	Snider,
Clarke (Lanark),	Lockhart,	Sprague,
Cleland,	Loughrin,	Stratton,
Connec,	McCallum,	Tait,
Dack,	McKay (Oxford),	Waters,
Davis,	McKay (Victoria),	Wood (Brant)—53.
Dryden,	McKechnie,	

GOVERNMENT HOUSE EXPEN- DITURES.

Among other expenditures of the monies of the Province objected to by the Opposition is that known as Government House Maintenance. The salary of the Lieut.-Governor, which is paid by the Dominion government, is \$10,000 per year. No objection has ever been raised by the Opposition to this sum, but in addition to the salary the Provincial government has paid for maintenance of the Government House at Toronto, since 1867, amounts varying from \$15,000 to \$25,000 per year. That the people may have an opportunity of fairly judging the position taken by the Opposition on this large annual outlay, we present the following list, taken from the chief items of expenditure on this institution as shown by the public accounts from 1868 to 1892:

Private Secretaries	\$26,904
Official "	15,192
Messengers	11,291
Contingencies	24,816
Water	8,044
Gas	21,119
Fuel	36,835
Gardeners and Caretakers.....	33,587
Cleaning snow	2,057
Tinsmithing, plumbing and gas-fitting.....	30,214
Plastering and bricklaying	5,844
Painting	19,456
Carpentering	5,702
Trees, plants and seeds	8,446
Furniture and furnishings	71,031
House cleaning.....	4,023

Work on grounds (5 acres)..... \$12,043
 Original cost of residence 78,302

The Opposition members of the legislature believe that all this expenditure by the Province is wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable; that the Lieutenant-Governor should be provided with a suitable office in which to discharge the official duties of his position and a secretary to attend therein at the expense of the Provincial government, but that all other such expenditures as enumerated above should cease at the expiration of the term of the present incumbent. To this end the following resolution was introduced on the 20th February, 1894 :

"That in opinion of this House the maintenance of government house and the establishment connected therewith at the expense of the Province should, after the expiration of five years from the appointment, or other earlier determination of the term of His Honor the present Lieutenant-Governor, be discontinued." The government opposed the resolution, and on a division on March 14th, the House stood as follows :—

For the resolution :

Messieurs

Barr (Dufferin),	Kerns,	Preston,
Bush,	Kirkwood,	Reid,
Campbell (Algoma),	McCallum,	Rorke,
Campbell (Durham),	McColl,	Smith (Frontenac),
Clancy,	McNaughton,	Snider,
Clarke (Toronto),	Magwood,	Tooley,
Glendinning,	Marter,	Whitney,
Godwin,	Meacham,	Willoughby,
Hammell,	Meredith,	Wood (Hastings),
Hiscott,	Miscampbell,	Wylie—32.
Hudson,	Monk,	

Against the resolution :

Messieurs

Allan,	Dowling,	McKechnie,
Awrey,	Dryden,	McMahon,
Balfour,	Evanturel,	Mack,

Barr (Renfrew),	Ferguson,	Mackenzie, C.,
Baxter,	Field,	Moore,
Biggar,	Fraser,	Mowat,
Bishop,	Gibson (Hamilton),	O'Connor,
Bleazard,	Gibson (Huron),	Paton,
Bronson,	Gilmour,	Robillard,
Caldwell,	Guthrie,	Ross,
Carpenter,	Harcourt,	Sharpe,
Charlton,	Hardy,	Smith (York),
Clarke (Lanark),	Harty,	Stratton,
Cleland,	Lockhart,	Tait,
Conmee,	Loughrin,	Waters,
Dack,	McKay (Oxford),	Wood (Brant)—50.
Davis,	McKay (Victoria),	

OPPOSITION TO POPULAR OPINION.

The government of Mr. Mowat has resolutely opposed every popular movement of recent years and forced its followers in the House to vote down every measure proposed by the Opposition in this direction.

In the session of 1892 a bill was passed respecting the fees of certain public officers. While under discussion Mr. Wood (Hastings) moved, seconded by Mr. S. White, that the surplus income that said bill provides for, instead of going to the government, should be paid over to the county or city councils for local uses. The government voted this down. (See page 160, Journals of 1892.)

Mr. Kerns then moved, seconded by Mr. Marter, providing that the surplus income of the registrar of deeds, which said bill provides for, be paid over into the Provincial treasury.

The government voted this down. (See page 161, Journals of 1892.)

Mr. Clancy then moved, seconded by Mr. Wood (Hastings), that power be conferred upon county councils to appoint registrars of deeds, fund the fees of the office, and pay by salary the registrar and clerks of said office. The government voted this proposal down. (See pages 161 and 162, Journals of 1892.)

Mr. Preston then moved, seconded by Mr. Monk, to fix the maximum net income of certain officers as follows: Clerks of division courts, \$1,500; registrars of deeds, \$2,500; sheriffs, \$3,000; local registrars of the High Court, deputy clerks of the crown, county court clerks and surrogate registrars, \$2,000; and for applying the surplus fees for public uses. The government voted this down and the bill was finally passed. (See pages 162 and 163, Journals of 1892.)

On the 9th April, 1892, a bill was before the House to amend the Registry Act, when Mr. McColl moved, seconded by Mr. Whitney, that "No greater fee than 25 cents shall be charged for searching the abstract index with respect to any lot or part of lot as originally patented by the crown, or as afterwards sub-divided into smaller lots as shown by any registered map or plan thereof whatever number of entries may be contained therein." The original bill as proposed by the government provided for the collection of a larger amount than 25 cents. The government voted down the Opposition amendment, which would have saved many hundreds of dollars annually to persons buying lands or those giving mortgages. The amendment by Mr. McColl was directly in the interest of the people and against the greedy government official, hence the government would not let it pass. (See page 176, Journals of 1892.)

When a bill respecting the election of members to the legislature was under discussion on the 12th April, 1892, Mr. Meredith moved to prevent persons having any contract with the government for the performance of any work or the furnishing of any goods, effects, food or materials, or any persons holding a liquor license from the government, from giving or promising, directly or indirectly, any money or other valuable consideration for the purpose of promoting the election of any

candidate to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario; or in any way influencing or affecting the result of such election. His motion declared that any violation of the law in these respects should be regarded as a corrupt act and would in due course subject the offender to a severe punishment.

This was a blow at Mr. Mowat's power with the liquor dealers and the persons who furnish supplies to public institutions without tender or competition, and against all government contractors, hence it was not allowed to pass, but was promptly voted down by the followers of the government. (See page 192, Journals of 1892.)

Where is the honest man in Ontario, Conservative or Reformer, that disapproves of Mr. Meredith's motion, and why should not Mr. Mowat have allowed it to pass if he desires the honest administration of public affairs? Electors of Ontario should and will remember this act of the Mowat government when the opportunity is given them to record their votes against hypocrisy and dishonest tactics in a self-styled upright administration.

On the same day and while the bill was still under discussion, Mr. Wood (Hastings) moved, seconded by Mr. Clancy, for secret balloting in election of members to the Legislative Assembly. By a vote of 50 to 29 the government refused to allow the amendment to pass. (See pages 192 and 193, Journals of 1892.)

The sacred right of every free man in this dominion to cast his vote as he pleases, free from intimidation, coercion, pressure, threats or discovery is denied, and has been denied for years, by the Reform administration of Sir Oliver Mowat—the only oligarchy, the only spy government, the only cowards that fear the force of honest public opinion, the only tyrants that enslave the free will of British Canadians.

On the same day Mr. Whitney moved, seconded by Mr. Campbell (Algoma), that the penalty of imprisonment as provided for in the former act in respect to the election of members for the Legislative Assembly, and which the government

now proposes to strike out, be continued in the new act. The government voted this down by 51 to 29. (See pages 193 and 194, Journals of 1892.) The necessity for severe penalties against the committal of such offences is becoming more apparent to all honest electors, but Mr. Mowat and his friends think differently.

On the 17th April, 1893, Mr. Monk of Carleton introduced a bill to facilitate the registry of mortgages and to reduce the expenses of the same. The government promptly voted the bill down. (See page 143, Journals of 1893.) This measure was most assuredly in the interest of all persons who are obliged to give mortgages, since the cost for registering such instruments would be greatly reduced.

On the 18th May, 1893, Mr. Miscampbell moved, seconded by Mr. Clancy, "That this House disapproves of the policy of "disposing of the timber reserves of the Province without its "approval being first obtained, and is of opinion that the right to "cut timber upon the present reserves should be sold under such "conditions as will insure the manufacture of the lumber cut there- "from within the Province, and more effectually guard against the "unnecessary cutting and destruction of the small timber growing "on such reserve."

Surely a motion of this kind should have met with approval in the House. Why should not the people's representatives be consulted as to the sale or other disposal of the property of the Province. If the lumber on these reserves were manufactured, or even partially manufactured, in the Province, there would be work for the mills now idle in all our north country and employment at home for thousands of men who have been driven out of Ontario by the unwise policy of the government at Toronto and who are working in the saw mills in Michigan towns that draw their supplies of logs from Ontario.

But no such step as this would be allowed by the government, so the motion was voted down by 48 to 27. (See page 148, Journals of 1893.)

CROWN LANDS MALADMINISTRATION.

In no case has disregard for economy and for popular control over expenditure been so flagrantly manifested as in the administration of Hon. Mr. Hardy's department. Apart from the annual subsidy given by the Dominion Government, the Crown Lands of the Province constitute the chief item in its revenue, and the principal protection of our people against future direct taxation. Hence the absolute necessity of care in the disposal of these lands, caution in the sale of timber limits, consultation with the representatives of the people as to the best means for the preservation of our forests, and refusal to permit a great Provincial asset to be depleted and destroyed by speculative purchase, or by the American policy of shipping our logs by millions to the other side of the line for manufacture. Yet in all these respects the government has been grossly remiss.

A few figures will demonstrate the importance of the matter. Between the years 1872 and 1892 there were received from the sale of Crown Lands and other lands under the control of the government a total sum of nearly \$3,500,000. This was expended for the ordinary purposes of government and in spite of the statement made by Hon. E. B. Wood, Provincial Treasurer in 1869, that these lands should be considered "a permanent source of revenue." Turning to the exploitation of our forests which has been going on, it seems clear that as the mythical surplus came to be more and more needed, the government has looked in a steadily increasing degree to the timber resources of Ontario for aid. During the first ten years after Confederation the receipts from the sales of timber, including bonuses, interest, timber dues and ground rents, were

\$4,353,000; during the second decade they amounted to \$5,569,000, and estimating the receipts during the following ten years at the figures shown from 1887 down, we have for that period a total of \$11,000,000, or a grand total of \$21,000,000, most of which has been taken from the assets of the Province and turned into the revenues of a wasteful government.

It must be remembered that these resources are not inexhaustible. The experience of the United States, the words of eminent students of forestry everywhere, the depleted remains of the once vast forests of Michigan, Maine and other States, the experience even of the Belleville and Ottawa districts, prove beyond dispute how much care is needed in this direction. It is true that we still have the finest pine on the continent and perhaps the greatest supply of timber, but unless the protests of Mr. Meredith are heeded, the extravagance of the ministry checked, and the policy of the Opposition adopted, this splendid Provincial resource, which should be a permanent source of income—increasing as the value of the timber is enhanced—will go the way of our neighbors and leave us upon the sharp edges of direct taxation, where the people will be in a position to regret their past indifference.

The policy of the government is essentially a makeshift one. The first step in the Crown Land's policy is the making of proper regulations for the preservation of young timber; guarding against cutting before ripe for the axe, and the re-foresting of timber lands where depletion has taken place. Such—when almost too late—is the American policy, and such are the views urged by Mr. Meredith and steadily voted down by the government. In 1875 the government forced its followers to abrogate the then existing regulation as to cutting young timber, and it has never been restored. But recklessness is not the only charge in this connection made and sustained by the Opposition. It has been urged again and again that the government persistently refuses to allow the House to pro

nounce as to the propriety of making sales or settling (as it has the constitutional right to do) the terms and conditions upon which licenses should be issued. The Department of Crown Lands consequently does as it likes with our timber limits and manipulates them to the advantage, not of the Province, but of the Treasury or the party followers. To illustrate the consequences, it may be pointed out that in 1872 the government disposed of upwards of 5,000 square miles on the shores of Lake Huron. None of the limits were operated until 1886, the result being that the enormous profits arising from increased value went to the speculators who had purchased them from a kindly ministry. A few instances will suffice to show the results of this policy.

One of the limits in question was sold in 1872 for \$185 a square mile, or \$6,660 for the 36 miles it contained. At the same time an adjoining limit of the same area was disposed of for \$430 per mile, or a total \$15,480. In 1892, and after a lumbering firm had taken the board pine off for several years, these two limits were sold for the nice little sum of \$550,000. In another case and at the same sale, a limit of 36 square miles was given away for \$85.00 a mile, or \$3,060. It brought \$90,000 in 1888. So much for what should have been a careful guardianship of the Province's interests in this important matter. And it surely accentuates the demand of the Opposition that their protests shall be heeded and that a department controlling \$21,000,000 of timber sales since Confederation shall submit its policy and arrangements to the control of the people's representatives before, instead of after, the sales have been effected or the licenses given.

Over and over again Mr. Meredith has urged reform and change in the giving of these destructive licenses. The Opposition desires to make it a condition that the timber cut under Government license, and practically belonging to the people, shall be manufactured by our people within the Province, and

for the general benefit of a Canadian population. As it is now, and has been for some years, the logs cut in Ontario forests are carried to Michigan, or other border States, and there cut into lumber, causing as a natural consequence the closing of Canadian mills, the decrease of employment for many deserving men, and the wholesale transfer of valuable industries to neighboring States. If the Dominion Government has to step in and remedy this condition of affairs by an export duty, the retaliatory action of the United States which will probably follow, will be due to the Ontario ministry refusing to do its simple and easy duty of placing a common-sense provision in licenses granted foreign or local lumbermen.

One more point should be considered in connection with the claim of the government that the demands of lumbermen make these frequent sales necessary. The value of the timber limits is constantly increasing. Where 459 miles realized \$1,317,662 in 1887, 673 miles brought \$2,315,000 in 1892. Hence the advisability of caution before making sales and of not allowing anything but the most imperative necessity to guide the action of the Crown Lands Department. Whether the state of the revenue provides that necessity, Mr. Harcourt may be left to say. But in 1887, when the first named sale was made, there were actually 5,974 miles under license and not operated by the lumbermen, who held them for speculative purposes, and who would not even pay ground rents and other dues. In 1890 there were 6,333 miles held in a similar manner, and in 1892, when the second large sale was made, 7,562 square miles, or one-third of the whole number under license, were held for speculative purposes and not operated. So that it is abundantly clear that there was no real need for these sales excepting that which came from the financial difficulties of the Ontario ministry.

It must seem apparent, therefore, to any fair observer that Mr. Meredith and the Opposition are correct in denouncing the wastefulness, misrepresentation and maladministration of the

Crown Lands Department, and should be strongly supported by the people in urging economy, patriotism and parliamentary control in the management of these great Provincial assets.

MINERAL DEVELOPMENT.

No country or portion of a country in the world has greater and richer mineral resources than Ontario. Yet for years the do-nothing Mowat government has neglected this vast source of individual wealth and Provincial revenue. All the protests and proposals of the Opposition have gone for nothing and stores of copper, silver, iron, coal, gold, nickel and other minerals lie in our soil, not undiscovered, but almost entirely undeveloped. And this simply for want of those qualities of energy and enterprise which a wise ministry should possess wherever the interests of the people are concerned.

In the states of Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin during 1890 \$23,000,000 worth of iron-ore were raised and the value of the pig-iron produced was over \$5,000,000. Yet the mineral wealth of these states is hardly equal to that of the Province of Ontario. The Gunflint iron range and the Matawan range of Ontario are said to be respectively continuations of the celebrated Mesaba and Vermillion ranges of Minnesota and to possess equal, if not greater, mineral wealth. And so in other parts of the Province and in respect to other minerals. But the government refuses to do anything for this struggling industry and what is produced goes largely to the other side for manufacture. On page 13 of the report of the Bureau of Mines for 1892 appears a stinging comment upon this strange inactivity and lack of business enterprise:

"For a country which possesses rich resources of soil, timber and minerals and which has large amounts of capital in-

'vested and seeking investment, much of it employed in the "neighboring states, the Province of Ontario is singular in being "almost alone among the great commonwealths of our continent, "without a blast furnace for the production of metallic iron."

The Opposition desires to remedy this condition of affairs, and, by judicious encouragement given to capitalists, to start smelting works, employ the many required at the good wages always given in this particular branch of work and make this great Province hum with the sound of a new and important industry. Such a policy of broad, liberal development would in the opinion of Mr. Meredith and the Opposition, increase the value of our Crown domain; enhance the revenues of the Province, and give a stimulus to business, not only locally, but throughout the entire Dominion.

EDUCATION POLICY.

It is the duty of the state and perhaps its highest and noblest function, to furnish at the public expense a sound primary education for the children who are to constitute its future citizens and rulers. This training should be of a character to build up the mental power of the child without warping it by partisan efforts or the injudicious, injurious effects of instruction guided by personal beliefs and prejudices. Hence the necessity of a broad, liberal school policy, controlled by a superintendent or chief who is entirely apart from political, sectional or sectarian influence. This, in a word, is the policy of the Opposition.

As matters stand now, politics permeate the entire educational system of Ontario, from the head of the department down to the latest appointment as school-teacher. Too often, as was proven in the Hagarty and Carlyle instances, these most

important positions are the reward of political merit, promotion being the result of party loyalty rather than of proved efficiency. The result is that the Provincial educational system, with all its great possibilities for good, is being ruined by the petty manipulation of politicians, instead of being, as it once was under the Rev. Dr. Ryerson, as it is in England to-day, and as it should be once more in Ontario—apart from politics and parliamentary struggle and in the hands of independent officials, guided solely by devotion to the educational interests of the Province.

During the last two decades, most of our troubles in an educational sense have been caused by the attempt to combine education and politics under the one head. All the changes in the Separate school law which have raised so much strife and discussion, have been made since the non-political Superintendent of Education was replaced by a partisan Minister of Education interested largely in the success of his party and the propagation of his party principles. This system, the Opposition contend, must go and be succeeded by one of greater purity and efficiency. In addition to this, the policy of Mr. Meredith in educational matters may be summarized as follows:

I. That in the cities, towns and villages of Ontario, Public and Separate school trustees must be elected by ballot and thus stand upon equal terms.

II. That the trustees in Separate schools should possess the same qualifications as trustees in the Public schools.

III. That the Roman Catholics of the Province should be left free choice in supporting or not, as they see fit, the Separate schools, and that no presumption that a Roman Catholic is necessarily a supporter of the Separate school in his vicinity should be established by law.

IV. That 'the provision by which the Separate School Board is given the choice of a member of the High School Board should be repealed.

On April 4th, 1890 (page 193 of the Journals of the House), Mr. Meredith embodied the policy of the Opposition in the following motion, which was seconded by Mr. A. F. Wood, and voted down by the government :

"That this House doth declare that the rights guaranteed
 "by the British North America Act to the supporters of Separate
 "or dissentient schools are civil rights appertaining to them as
 "citizens, and that the assumption that any church organization
 "or body, or the bishops, priests or ministers thereof, are entitled
 "to control the ratepayer in the exercise and enjoyment of
 "such, his individual right, or to command obedience to its or
 "their direction, by them or by the trustees of any such school,
 "in the exercise by them of such rights, or the performance
 "by him of the duties delegated to him by the State, is wholly
 "unwarranted and dangerous to the State and ought to be
 "resisted ; and this House doth further declare that it is within
 "the constitutional right of the Legislature through the Depart-
 "ment of Education to regulate such schools, and particularly
 "to prescribe the text-books to be used in them, and that the
 "said department ought, in the exercise of that right, to make
 "provisions regulating the text-books to be used in the said
 "schools, except those employed in giving religious instruc-
 "tion when and where such instruction is permitted by law."

This was defeated on a division by 49 to 31 votes. What the Opposition contended for in 1890 it urges with equal force in 1894. Mr. Meredith and his supporters recognize that under our constitution the privileges enjoyed at Confederation by Roman Catholics cannot be prejudicially effected by legislation. But none the less it is felt to be of the very highest importance that the extent of these privileges should be accurately understood, that no pressure of political interests or sectarian influences

should be permitted by the government to enhance the scope and authority of the Roman Catholic or any other church. Under the political manipulation of our school system, however, this evil has been growing greater every year. The Opposition maintain that there is no warrant for the position or claim, that Separate schools are anything else than State schools which must be regulated and controlled by the Legislature, subject only to the limitations imposed by the pact of Confederation. They believe, in a word, that these schools are as much State schools as are the Public schools and as fully under the control of the Legislature.

One other strong reason there is for the abolition of political control over our educational system. Higher education, or the maintenance of high schools, collegiate institutes, etc., is becoming yearly a greater burden upon the people, and the sums expended are out of all proportion to the amount given for the support of the public schools, which are, after all, the foundation and most important part of our system of education. In 1872 the total sum spent on education in Ontario was \$421,703. In 1892 this had risen to \$653,161. During these twenty years the grants in aid of primary schools, beyond the recent increase in the amount given to poor or weak schools, has increased very little—only \$34,000, or 18 per cent. in the case of public schools—while those to high schools have increased by 30 per cent. It may be noted in this connection that in 1872 the high school inspectors cost \$4,000 and in 1892 \$8,463, or an increase of over 100 per cent.

Altogether, and after deducting the entire cost of maintaining public, separate, poor and high schools, so far as the Provincial treasury is concerned, more than \$280,000 was left in 1892 to be expended very largely in the frills and fripperies of education introduced by the present head of the Education Department. The School of Pedagogy, inspectors of teachers' institutes, large salaries given to useless officials or partisan appointees—these and similar expenses eat into the large sum mentioned.

Political control of the Department is a main cause of this extravagance, as it is of the disgraceful school book monopolies which have characterized Hon. Mr. Ross' administration, and so enriched various publishers at the expense of the people of Ontario. Under this system also the pressure of political friends may even effect an Opposition and tempt it to make attacks upon the head of a department which should be so far above so serious a danger as that of becoming the shuttlecock of political parties.

All these and many minor evils the Opposition believe can be largely remedied by the organization of a non-partisan department of education. If given the opportunity Mr. Meredith will endeavor to carry out this policy, and purify our educational system by the adoption of more elevated methods and the application of principles of justice rather than of political expediency to its management and control.

BIENNIAL SESSIONS.

There is no doubt in the minds of our people that the Dominion is over-governed, and that one of the main causes of this difficulty is the extravagance, vanity and greed of power exhibited by the Ontario Government. The Government and legislative machinery of Canada and its various Provinces cost nearly \$4,000,000 a year—far too much for a small population—and yet the Mowat government have for twenty years been piling up expenses in every department, making new offices, spending money lavishly upon Parliament buildings, and increasing, by constant tinkering with legislation, the cost of government and of legal procedure, besides adding to the general burden of taxation. As one step along the road of

economy Mr. Meredith desires to do away with the yearly sessions of the Legislature and hold them once every two years, as is the case in all but seven States of the American Union.

It is claimed that at least \$70,000 a year would be saved and much hasty and ill-considered legislation prevented. At present, constant tinkering with the laws is the only excuse for the annual sessions, and this fact was recognized by the government itself in 1881, when it introduced the following clause in the speech from the throne :

"We shall give our serious consideration to the question
 "whether the time has not come when the public interest may
 "be sufficiently protected and at the same time a considerable
 "saving of expense be effected by confining future legislation
 "to every alternate annual session, except in cases of special
 "emergency."

They now oppose the reform advocated by Mr. Meredith concerning which so strong a Grit journal as the *Manitoba Free Press* (Feb. 17) says: "An annual session creates the demand
 "it is intended to meet. With biennial sessions the amount
 "of legislation would probably not be greater at each term,
 "and it would be better considered." The same paper supports the contention of the leader of the Opposition as to the saving of expense which would follow. It is probable that here again the Province will recognize that economy and efficiency are the mottoes of the Opposition, and extravagance and indifference to popular requirements the moving principles of the government.

CONCLUSION.

To sum up the difference between the two parties in Ontario is easy. On the government side is the desire to retain office at any expense, the evidences of widespread corruption in public appointments, in the making of positions for favorites, in the subsidizing of partisan interests, in the constant recurrence of nepotism. On every hand we see the willingness to sacrifice public interests to sectarian support and an extravagance in public expenditure and in the handling of our crown lands and timber resources, which are bringing Ontario to the verge of heavy direct taxation. And with all this there seems to be an absolute Czar-like indifference to public opinion; a persistent refusal to meet the demand for mineral development; a complete indifference to the protests against centralization of power, the pensioning of political favorites, and the prostitution of our educational system.

On the Opposition side is the record of twenty years of battle for economy, purity and efficiency of administration. During that time it has consistently struggled for the principles which it presents to-day—reduced expenditure, careful management of Provincial resources under the constitutional control and advice of the Legislature; protection of our timber from internal dangers and United States manufacturers; development of our great mines and resources; abolition of political control over education; economy in legislation by establishing biennial sessions; a secret ballot in all elections; government control over Separate schools, and equal rights to all classes and creeds in the community. Upon these principles Mr. W. R. Meredith and the Conservative Opposition in Ontario are willing to stand or fall; to fight vigorously and successfully or fail honorably.

APPENDIX.

VOTES AND MOTIONS IN THE LATE SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE.

On the Opposition motion to discontinue Government House at the Expense of the Province, the proposal was defeated by the following party vote, March 14th, 1894:

NAYS.

Messieurs

Allan,	Dowling,	McKechnie,
Awrey,	Dryden,	McMahon,
Balfour,	Evanturel,	Mack,
Barr (Renfrew)	Ferguson,	Mackenzie, C.,
Baxter,	Field,	Moore,
Biggar,	Fraser,	Mowat,
Bishop,	Gibson (Hamilton),	O'Connor
Blezard,	Gibson (Huron),	Paton,
Bronson,	Gilmour,	Robillard,
Caldwell,	Guthrie,	Ross,
Carpenter,	Harcourt,	Sharpe,
Charlton,	Hardy,	Smith (York),
Clarke (Lanark),	Harty,	Stratton.
Cleland,	Lockhart,	Tait,
Conmee,	Loughrin,	Waters,
Dack,	McKay (Oxford)	Wood (Brant)—50.
Davis,	McKay (Victoria),	

YEAS.

Messieurs

Barr (Dufferin),	Kerns,	Preston,
Bush,	Kirkwood,	Reid,
Campbell (Algoma),	McCallum,	Rorke,
Campbell (Durham),	McColl,	Smith (Frontenac),
Clancy,	McNaughton,	Snider,
Clarke (Toronto),	Magwood,	Tooley,
Glendinning,	Marter,	Whitney,
Godwin,	Meacham,	Willoughby,
Hammell,	Meredith,	Wood (Hastings),
Hiscott,	Miscampbell,	Wylie—32.
Hudson,	Monk,	

On March 15th, Mr. Wood moved, seconded by Mr. Clancy, "That in the opinion of this House the present mode of appointing, and paying by fees, registrars of deeds and other county officials is unsatisfactory, and should be changed, and that the appointment of all the said officials whose salary or remuneration is provided, in whole or mainly, by the localities for which they are appointed, should not be vested in the Executive of the Province, but in the people of the locality, either directly or through their municipal bodies."

This was voted down by a subservient government majority as follows :

YEAS.

Messieurs

Bush,	Kearns,	Preston,
Campbell (Durham),	McCallum,	Reid,
Clancy,	McCleary,	Rorke
Clarke (Toronto),	McColl,	Ryerson,

Fell,
Glendinning
Godwin,
Hammell,
Hiscott,
Hudson,

McNaughton,
Magwood,
Marter,
Meacham,
Meredith,
Monk,

Smith (Frontenac),
Tooley,
White,
Whitney,
Willoughby—29

NAYS.

Messieurs

Allan,
Awrey,
Balfour,
Barr (Renfrew),
Baxter,
Bishop,
Blezard,
Bronson,
Caldwell,
Carpenter,
Charlton,
Clarke (Lanark),
Cleland,
Connec,
Dack,
Davis,
Dowling

Dryden,
Evanturel,
Ferguson,
Field,
Garrow,
Gibson (Hamilton),
Gibson (Huron),
Guthrie,
Harcourt,
Hardy,
Harty,
Kirkwood,
Lockhart,
Loughrin,
McKay (Oxford),
McKay (Victoria),

McKechnie,
Mack,
Mackenzie, C.,
Moore,
Mowat,
O'Connor,
Robillard,
Ross,
Sharpe,
Smith (Peel)
Snider,
Sprague,
Stratton,
Tait,
Waters,
Wood (Brant)—49

On March 27th Mr. Whitney moved, seconded by Dr. Willoughby, "That in the opinion of this House it is necessary
"to a free expression of the popular will the use of the num-
"bered ballot paper be discontinued and that the ballot for the
"election of members of the Legislative Assembly be made a
"secret ballot."

This was also voted down on the following division :

YEAS.

Messieurs

Barr (Dufferin),	Hiscott,	Preston,
Bush,	Hudson,	Reid,
Campbell (Algoma),	Kerns,	Rorke,
Campbell (Durham),	McCleary,	Smith (Frontenac),
Clancy,	McColl,	Tooley,
Clarke (Toronto),	Magwood,	White,
Fell,	Marter,	Whitney,
Glendinning,	Meacham,	Willoughby,
Godwin,	Meredith,	Wood (Hastings),
Hammell,	Monk,	Wylie—30.

NAYS.

Messieurs

Allan,	Evanturel,	McMahon,
Awrey,	Ferguson,	McNaughton,
Balfour,	Field,	Mack,
Barr (Renfrew),	Garrow,	Mackenzie, C.,
Baxter,	Gibson (Hamilton),	Moore,
Biggar,	Gibson (Huron),	Mowat,
Bishop,	Gilmour,	Paton,
Bleazard,	Guthrie,	Robillard,
Bronson,	Harcourt,	Ross,
Caldwell,	Hardy,	Sharpe,
Carpenter,	Harty,	Smith (Peel),
Charlton,	Kirkwood,	Snider,
Clarke (Lanark),	Lockhart,	Sprague,
Cleland,	Loughrin,	Stratton,
Conmee,	McCallum,	Tait,
Dack,	McKay (Oxford),	Waters,
Davis,	McKay (Victoria),	Wood (Brant)—53
Dryden,	McKechnie,	

Mr. Meredith's motion on April 11th, "That in the opinion of this House the election of Public and Separate school trustees in cities, towns and incorporated villages and in townships in which township boards are established, should be by ballot," was defeated on this division :

YEAS.

Messieurs

Barr (Dufferin),	Hudson,	Preston,
Bush,	Kerns,	Reid,
Campbell (Algoma),	McCallum,	Rorke,
Campbell (Durham),	McCleary,	Ryerson,
Clancy,	McColl,	Smith (Frontenac),
Dack,	Magwood,	Tooley,
Fell,	Marter,	White,
Glendinning,	Meacham,	Whitney,
Godwin,	Meredith,	Willoughby,
Hammell,	Miscampbell,	Wood (Hastings),
Hiscott,	Monk,	Wylie—33.

NAYS.

Messieurs

Allan,	Evanturel,	Mack,
Awrey,	Ferguson,	Mackenzie, C.,
Balfour,	Field,	Moore,
Barr (Renfrew),	Fraser,	Mowat,
Baxter,	Gibson (Hamilton),	O'Connor,

Bishop,	Gibson (Huron),	Paton,
Bleazard,	Gilmour,	Robillard,
Bronson,	Harcourt,	Ross,
Caldwell,	Hardy,	Sharpe,
Carpenter,	Harty,	Smith (York),
Charlton,	Kirkwood,	Smith (Peel),
Clarke (Lanark),	Lockhart,	Snider,
Cleland,	Loughrin,	Sprague,
Conmee,	McKay (Oxford),	Stratton,
Davis,	McKay (Victoria),	Tait,
Dowling,	McKechnie,	Waters,
Dryden,	McMahon,	Wood (Brant)—51.

The important resolution presented as follows by Mr. Mis-
campbell and seconded by Mr. Clancy, was voted down as
usual :

"This House disapproves of the large expenditures which
"are made annually by the Crown Lands Department for
"Surveys, amounting to upwards of \$35,000 per annum, and of
"the sums paid by the Department to unnecessary Crown
"Lands agents, and it regrets that the Executive and the De-
"partment persist in the practice of disposing of the Crown
"Timber reserves of the Province without consulting or obtain-
"ing the approval of the representatives of the people in this
"House, and wholly fail to take any adequate steps for pre-
"serving the standing timber, and especially the smaller trees,
"from unnecessary waste and destruction; and this House de-
"plores the improvidence which characterizes the management
"and disposal of the timber upon these reserves, which has
"destroyed, in many parts of the country, the saw milling
"industries which flourished there, and has transferred the
"business which they formerly carried on to the State of

"Michigan and other States of the neighboring Republic, and
 "is fast depriving the Province of its most valuable asset, and
 "one, if adequately and intelligently cared for, safeguarded
 "and managed, would continue to furnish a large revenue to
 "the Province for years to come, but which, as now mis-
 "managed, is rapidly disappearing."

The division was as follows:

YEAS:

Messieurs

Bush,	Hudson,	Reid,
Campbell (Algoma),	Kerns,	Rorke,
Campbell (Durham),	McColl,	Ryerson,
Clancy,	Magwood,	Smith (Frontenac),
Clarke (Toronto),	Marter,	Tooley,
Fell,	Meacham,	White,
Glendinning,	Meredith,	Whitney,
Godwin,	Miscampbell,	Willoughby,
Hammell,	Monk,	Wood(Hastings)—29.
Hiscott,	Preston,	

NAYS:

Messieurs

Allan,	Dryden,	McNaughton,
Awrey,	Evanturel,	Mack,
Balfour,	Fergusen,	Mackenzie,
Barr (Renfrew),	Field,	Moore,
Baxter,	Garrow,	Mowat,
Biggar,	Gibson (Hamilton),	O'Connor,
Bishop,	Gibson (Huron),	Paton,
Bleazard,	Guthrie,	Robillard,
Bronson,	Harcourt,	Ross,

Caldwell,	Hardy,	Sharpe,
Carpenter,	Harty,	Smith (Peel),
Charlton,	Kirkwood,	Snider,
Clarke (Lanark),	Lockhart,	Sprague,
Cleland,	Loughrin,	Stratton,
Conmee,	McKay (Oxford),	Tait,
Dack,	McKay (Victoria),	Waters,
Davis,	McKechnie,	Wood (Brant)—53.
Dowling,	McMahon,	

The following motion was moved by Mr. White, seconded by Mr. Hudson, on April 27th: "That it is essential to a non-partisan management of the educational affairs of this Province that the department should not be under the control of a political head, and that the office of Minister of Education should be abolished."

It was defeated, but by a smaller majority than usual:

YEAS:

Messieurs

Barr (Dufferin),	Hiscott,	Meredith,
Bush,	Hudson,	Miscampbell,
Campbell (Algoma),	Kerns,	Monk,
Campbell (Durham),	McCallum	Preston,
Clancy,	McCleary,	Rorke,
Fell,	McColl,	Ryerson,
Glendinning,	Magwood,	White,
Godwin,	Marter,	Whitney,
Hammell,	Meacham,	Willoughby—27.

NAYS:

Messieurs

Allan,	Field,	Mack,
Awrey,	Garrow,	Moore,
Balfour,	Gibson (Hamilton),	Mowat,
Barr (Renfrew),	Gibson (Huron),	O'Connor,
Baxter,	Harcourt,	Paton,
Caldwell,	Hardy,	Robillard,
Carpenter,	Harty,	Ross,
Charlton,	Kirkwood,	Sharpe,
Clarke (Lanark)	Lockhart,	Smith (Peel),
Cleland,	Loughrin,	Snider,
Conmee,	McKay (Oxford),	Sprague,
Dack,	McKay (Victoria),	Stratton,
Davis,	McKechnie,	Tait,
Dryden,	McMahon,	Waters,
Evanturel,	McNaughton,	Wood (Brant)—46
Ferguson,		

On April 30th Mr. Whitney, in amendment to Hon. Mr. Ross' useless proposals in reference to the fees question, moved: "That the Bill be not now read the third time but be forthwith referred back to a committee of the whole House with instructions to amend the same by fixing the maximum net income which shall be payable to the several officials with

"which the Bill deals, and providing that the whole of the
 "residue of the revenues of their offices shall be applied to pub
 "lic uses."

It was lost on the following division :

YEAS :

Messieurs

Campbell (Algoma),	McColl,	Reid,
Clarke (Toronto),	Magwood,	Rorke,
Godwin,	Marter,	Ryerson,
Hammell,	Meacham,	White,
Hudson,	Meredith,	Whitney,
Kirkwood,	Miscampbell,	Willoughby,
McCallum,	Monk,	Wylie—23
McCleary,	Preston,	

NAYS :

Messieurs

Allan,	Ferguson,	McKechnie,
Awrey,	Field,	McMahon,
Balfour,	Garrow,	Mackenzie,
Barr (Renfrew),	Gibson (Huron),	Mowat,
Baxter,	Gilmour,	Paton,
Carpenter,	Guthrie,	Ross,
Charlton,	Harcourt,	Sharpe,
Cleland,	Hardy,	Smith (Peel),

Dack,
Davis,
Dryden,
Evanturel,

Harty,
Lockhart,
McKay (Oxford),
McKay (Victoria),

Waters,
Wood (Brant)—34

Such is the record of motions and votes during one session
of the Legislature. Let the people judge.

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